

The Director of Central Intelligence

Washington, D.C. 20505

National Intelligence Council

NIC No. 04938-85
2 October 1985

MEMORANDUM FOR: Deputy Director of Central Intelligence

FROM: George Kolt
National Intelligence Officer for Europe

SUBJECT: Suggested Discussion Item for Meeting with DepSECSTATE
on Spanish-NATO Referendum

1. During their meeting on 26 September Secretary Shultz was unable to dissuade Spanish Prime Minister Gonzalez from his plans to hold a referendum on NATO membership. Gonzalez then asked that, in order to help shift public opinion toward NATO, the US and Spain try to work out an agreed public statement on each country's role in the defense of common western values. The Secretary reluctantly agreed-- reluctantly because he is probably aware that what Gonzalez is really after is some vague but potentially important commitment to reduce the US presence in Spain to help him win the referendum.

2. In my view it would be premature to work out such an agreed statement:

- Spanish public opinion has remained fairly firm in its opposition to NATO and will probably not be swayed between now and the proposed referendum date of March 1986, no matter what public statement the US and Spain make.
- Even if Gonzalez managed to win the referendum the campaign would probably transform security relations with the West, especially the US military presence, into a more controversial issue than it is today.
- Until at least November Gonzalez can still walk away from the referendum, most easily by wrapping up the issues in the national election that must be held in 1986 anyway.

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-- Our best course between now and then is not to encourage him into thinking that we will help him win a referendum. Rather we should continue trying to dissuade him from holding the referendum.

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George Kolt

Attachment
NC 8565860 cable

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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
 TAGS: PREL, MARR, PTER, SP, US, NATO, UN
 SUBJECT: SECRETARY'S MEETING WITH SPANISH PRIME
 MINISTER FELIPE GONZALEZ, SEPTEMBER 26

1. C-ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY: THE SECRETARY'S MEETING AT THE UN WITH SPANISH PRIME MINISTER GONZALEZ WAS WARM AND FRIENDLY. THE DISCUSSION FOCUSED ON THE NATO/BASES ISSUE WITH AGREEMENT TO PREPARE A JOINT STATEMENT FOR FUTURE PUBLIC USE. OTHER ISSUES DISCUSSED WERE TRADE, COCOM AND UN-RELATED MATTERS. SPANISH PARTICIPANTS INCLUDED: FERNANDEZ ORDONEZ, FOREIGN MINISTER; MAXIMO CAJAL LOPEZ, SECRETARY GENERAL FOR FOREIGN POLICY; JUAN ANTONIO YANEZ, ASSISTANT TO THE PM; GABRIEL MANUECO, SPANISH AMBASSADOR TO THE U.S.; LALO MIRAPEIX, POLITICAL DIRECTOR FOR NORTH AMERICA, AND JAVIER SOLANA, GOVERNMENT SPOKESMAN. U.S. PARTICIPANTS WERE: BERNARD KALB, DEPARTMENT SPOKESMAN; AMBASSADOR WALTERS, US AMBASSADOR TO THE UN; AMBASSADOR RIDGWAY, EUR ASSISTANT SECRETARY; AMBASSADOR ENDERS, US AMBASSADOR TO SPAIN; AND ANTHONY KOCHANER, DEPUTY DIRECTOR EUR/WE (NOTETAKER).

3. GENERAL: THE SECRETARY MET FOR 45 MINUTES WITH PRIME MINISTER GONZALEZ. THE ATMOSPHERE WAS VERY WARM AND FRIENDLY. THE SECRETARY BEGAN BY DESCRIBING HIS EFFORTS TO ESTABLISH A GOOD PERSONAL RELATIONSHIP WITH THE NEW SOVIET FOREIGN MINISTER TO ENSURE THAT WE HAVE NO DIFFICULTY IN COMMUNICATING.

4. UN ISSUES. THE SECRETARY THANKED GONZALEZ FOR SPAIN'S SUPPORT FOR U.S. POSITIONS AND URGED HIM TO SUPPORT HOCHE AS THE NEW HEAD OF THE UN-ICR.

5. TRADE. GONZALEZ EXPRESSED PLEASURE REGARDING THE COURAGEOUS ACTIONS BY THE PRESIDENT TO CURB

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PROTECTIONISM. THE SECRETARY SAID WE ARE ON THE RIGHT COURSE, AND HE EXPECTED THE PRESIDENT TO GET HIS WAY WITH CONGRESS. ALSO, THE WORLD NOW SEEMS TO UNDERSTAND THAT U.S. BALANCE OF TRADE DEFICITS OF \$130-150 BILLION ARE NOT SUSTAINABLE. THE GROUP OF 5 MEETING MADE CLEAR THAT EACH COUNTRY HAS WORK TO DO.

6. COCOM. THE SECRETARY SAID THAT SPAIN'S ENTRY INTO COCOM WILL MAKE THE TRANSFER OF TECHNOLOGY EASIER. GONZALEZ MADE THE POINT THAT SPAIN KEEPS ITS WORD.

7. NATO AND THE BASES. GONZALEZ SAID HE WANTED TO BE FRANK TO AVOID MISUNDERSTANDINGS. THERE SHOULD BE NO DOUBT ABOUT SPAIN'S FRIENDSHIP AND SUPPORT FOR COLLECTIVE DEFENSE. THERE IS NO DESIRE TO ELIMINATE THE U.S. MILITARY PRESENCE. BUT HE NOTED PUBLIC OPINION IS IMPORTANT. ALSO, THINGS HAVE CHANGED AND AFTER YEARS OF FOCUSING ON DOMESTIC AFFAIRS, THE SPANISH ARMED FORCES NOW HAVE A ROLE IN THE EXTERNAL DEFENSE OF SPAIN. TO DEAL WITH OUR PROBLEMS, THERE MUST BE AN ATMOSPHERE OF TRUST AND CONFIDENCE. THE SECRETARY SAID THE U.S. SIDE WILL APPROACH THE ISSUES IN THE SAME SPIRIT.

8. THE SECRETARY ACCEPTED THAT NATO MEMBERSHIP IS A DECISION SPAIN MUST MAKE. THE PROBLEM IS THAT AN UP OR DOWN REFERENDUM MAY NOT COME OUT AS WE ALL HOPE IF WE READ THE POLLS. IT MIGHT BE WISER TO WRAP THE ISSUE INTO AN ELECTION. OUR CONCERN IS THAT THE WESTERN SECURITY SYSTEM COULD FALL APART IF EVERY CONTROVERSIAL DECISION WERE PUT TO A VOTE INSTEAD OF BEING MADE BY GOVERNMENTS THAT THEN STAND OR FALL ON A PROGRAM.

9. GONZALEZ SAID HE DID NOT DISAGREE. BUT THE SPANISH PUBLIC EXPECTS A VOTE. HE HAS TURNED AROUND PARLIAMENT AND HOPES HE CAN DO THE SAME WITH THE PUBLIC AT LARGE.

HE RECOGNIZED THAT THERE IS A POLITICAL, PARTISAN PROBLEM, BUT HE THOUGHT THIS COULD BE OVERCOME TOO. ALSO, ANY REFERENDUM WOULD BE NON-BINDING.

10. GONZALEZ AGREED THAT THERE IS NO REASON TO TAKE PRECIPITOUS DECISIONS. BUT HIS GOVERNMENT NEEDED U.S. HELP IN HANDLING PUBLIC OPINION. HE WANTED THE U.S. TO SAY THAT IT UNDERSTOOD THE POSITION OF THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT. SPECIFICALLY, HE ASKED THAT THE U.S. AND SPAIN TRY TO WORK OUT AN AGREED STATEMENT THAT COULD BE USED PUBLICLY. THE STATEMENT WOULD START FROM THE PRESUMPTION THAT BOTH COUNTRIES ARE DEDICATED TO THE DEFENSE OF COMMON WESTERN VALUES AND WOULD CONTAIN A REFERENCE TO THE RESPECTIVE ROLES EACH COUNTRY CAN PLAY IN THIS RESPECT. GONZALEZ MADE CLEAR THAT HE WAS NOT ASKING NOW FOR A DECISION ON FACILITIES OR TROOPS. BUT HE DID NEED EXPRESSION OF CONFIDENCE IN HIS PROGRAM (PRESUMABLY, HIS "DECALOGUE").

11. THE SECRETARY SAID HE HESITATED IN AGREEING TO THE FOREGOING BECAUSE HE DID NOT WANT TO CREATE A PRESUMPTION OF SOME SHIFT IN U.S. PRESENCE BEFORE SPAIN'S NATO DECISION IS MADE. BUT HE THOUGHT THAT AN OVERALL STATEMENT THAT FITS TOGETHER IN A GLOBAL WAY IS A GOOD WAY TO DO IT. HE AGREED TO WORK WITH THE SPANISH ON SUCH AN AGREED STATEMENT.

SHULTZ
END OF MESSAGE

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